



L. B. Fuller

SPEECH
OF
MR. PLUMB,
IN NIAGARA,
DELIVERED AT THE HUSTINGS,

JANUARY 22, 1874.

*From Notes by W. H. Thornton, Stenographer to the Court of
Appeals of New York.*

RESULT OF THE ELECTION.

PLUMB	336
CURRIE	306
MAJORITY FOR PLUMB	30

RESULT OF ELECTION 1872.

MORRISON	300
CURRIE	298
MAJORITY FOR MORRISON.. ..	2

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TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

Town and Township of Niagara.

GENTLEMEN,—

Upon a Requisition signed by a large number of the Voters of this Riding, of both Political parties, I have been induced, not without much reluctance, to be brought forward as your Candidate.

I learn that my opponent has been actively engaged in canvassing among you for several months, and a public demonstration was made in his interest here last Autumn. His address is before you, pledging himself to give the present Government a hearty support.

Should you honor me by giving me a majority, I cannot promise a blind and unconditional adherence to any set of men, whether in or out of power; but I must claim the right of exercising and acting upon my own judgment in supporting or opposing any measure that may come before the House. I desire however, to say that I shall support any such measure that I deem calculated to advance the public welfare, from whichever side of the House it may originate, and in the absence of any formal policy on the part of the Ministry now in office, I do not consider that any further pledge should be given by any Candidate who wishes to maintain independence of thought and action.

I am in favor of the encouragement and protection of Agriculture, by Government aid if necessary, in endowing Agricultural Associations with permanent funds for premiums, and providing in some safe and equitable way the means for a general system of under-drainage; of stimulating and increasing Emigration, including that of the farm laborers of Great Britain, and of providing, by stringent enactments, for the protection of

those who come among us as settlers or laborers; of keeping our pledged faith with the outlying Provinces; of establishing without delay a safe and cheap system of communication with the fertile belt of our North-Western Possessions and British Columbia, within our borders and under our control, and as soon as possible, of having such system of communication available as well in Winter as in Summer; of aiding the Vine and Fruit Grower by such additional duties on fruit as will increase the planting of Orchards and Vineyards, especially in this fair Garden of Canada; of an adjustment of our Tariff by enlarging the free list of raw material, and by reducing the inequality between the duty of fifteen per cent. which we levy on imported manufactures, and that of sixty per cent. by which we are repulsed from the American frontier; and it would be just to those investing in our manufactories, that the faith of Government should be pledged that such a Tariff should not be lowered for a specified term of years.

Free Trade is an attractive principle in theory, but to be practically beneficial to us, it must be reciprocal.

I desire the speedy enlargement of our Canals, and the improvement of our Inland Navigation Coastlines and Harbors, to meet the wants of our rapidly growing Traffic and Commerce, and for such purposes I am willing to use our resources with a liberal hand, laying aside a restrictive policy, a false economy and narrow prejudices, but having a true regard to sound finances and guarding against an unwarrantable or unequal augmentation of the public burdens.

The great aim of our Legislation at Ottawa should be to remove sectional jealousies, and to cement the Union into a whole, in which Provincial boundaries should be obliterated in the carrying on of Parliamentary business.

I am in favor of an Income Franchise, and of a law which shall effectually secure the purity of Elections, and put an end to the corruption and degradation of venal or needy voters, by stopping the shameless bribery that has been notoriously practised by both parties. It would have been perhaps somewhat more consistent with the professions of the present Ministry, if they had passed, or attempted to pass such a law, prior to the dissolution of the House.

My opponent represents himself to be the Candidate of a party which styles itself the Party of Purity. It is well known that neither party has the right to lay exclusive claim to that title. I desire and ask only the free and unbought suffrages of the voters of this Constituency.

I shall endeavor to make as thorough a personal canvass as the short time given will permit.

Matters personal to myself have been, and doubtless will be brought before you during the canvass, and I was in some measure influenced in my acceptances of a Candidature by the expectation that I might have an opportunity of meeting and refuting any charge that might be brought against me. Although I am not by birth a British subject, I have been interested in property in Ontario for nearly twenty-five years, and for nearly thirteen years I have resided among you. Upon mature deliberation I have given in my adhesion to the Crown, and I apprehend it to be the true policy of Canadians to accept and encourage those who are willing to settle in the Dominion, and conform to its laws, no matter of what original nationality they may be. In some small way I trust I may have been instrumental as a private resident in increasing the prosperity of this Constituency, and if I should be elected, I shall make it my study in my public capacity to advance it, should opportunity be found. I desire to see the future Parliament lay aside dead issues; refuse to recognize or become implicated with the stale and profitless quarrels of Party Leaders, and apply itself diligently and exclusively to the transaction of the business of the Country, and to the living and vital issues of the present and future.

Respectfully soliciting your suffrages,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

J. B. PLUMB.

NIAGARA, 16th January, 1874.

MR. PLUMB'S SPEECH.

MR. RETURNING OFFICER,

AND GENTLEMEN ELECTORS OF THE TOWN AND TOWNSHIP OF NIAGARA.

Having been nominated to-day as a Candidate at the coming election for a seat in the House of Commons as your representative, it is of course my duty to address you. I am not at all accustomed to speaking in public. It has never been my habit to do so, and until after my nomination was accepted I never addressed a public meeting in my life. But on this occasion I intend to speak to you at considerable length, even at the risk of being thought prolix and tedious. And now to have it fully understood how I intend to divide the remarks which I shall make to you, and having in my previous speeches paid but little attention to the arrangement of my subjects, I think on this more important occasion it will be better to divide them into three parts; in the first place I intend to talk about the politics of the past, although I do not recognize dead issues, but it is best, since I have been sneered at for not knowing anything about Canadian Politics, to assure you that I have a faint glimmering of information regarding the questions of the day. Then I intend to give you a sketch of what I consider to be the true issues and vital questions of the present and future, for I have got some idea about those also; and lastly, I intend, even though I may incur the imputation of egotism, to talk a little about matters personal to myself.

The electors who are present if they do not want to sit out quietly a long harangue, can take their choice as to which division of it they prefer to hear. I might have taken up the personal part of my subject at the outset, and I at first thought of doing so, but there are some people present and elsewhere who I shall hit very hard, and on the whole I have decided not to do so, and when I come to it, it may perhaps, not be necessary long to detain your attention; but I am sure that in regard to my first proposition you will all want to hear something under that head, and also I trust to find willing listeners in regard to the second, but I think there are many who will not relish the last.

It is necessary at the outset that I should decline to accept a position which I have been offered by my opponents. I am

called by them the candidate of a certain political party to which has been given the name of the "Charter-sellers," and I intend to go at that boldly. I shall come right up to the mark and tell you something about the matter which has caused the Opposition party to attempt to fasten that name upon the party of Union and Progress. (Applause.) The confederation of some of the Provinces of this great Dominion having been established through the far-seeing wisdom, statesman-like ability, forecast and tact of the late First Minister and his associates, upon a wise basis, and upon broad principles, and through generous concessions from the stronger to the weaker provinces of the confederation, it became desirable, and, in fact, indispensable that every territory owing British allegiance in this quarter of the globe should be induced, even at some further sacrifices on the part of the older and stronger provinces which were already bound together, to come into the brotherhood. British Columbia, lying upon the Western slope of the great chain of mountains that divide the western part of this great continent from North to South, was included among those that did not at the outset come into the Union; but having acquired possession of the greater part of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company—having the fertile belt of the Saskatchewan on this side of that great valley, it became most desirable to complete the line of our Dominion in a westerly direction until we reached the shores of the Pacific.

As an inducement to that distant Province to join us, and in order to secure to her a means of communication with the capital, and to provide a transit by which communication could be made across the continent within our own territory at all seasons of the year, a railway seemed to be necessary, and notwithstanding the vast cost and great difficulties of such an undertaking the Parliament of the Dominion, with the sanction of the mother country, pledged itself to the early construction of the work. We had, as yet, no other means of crossing the great and terrible wilderness of the North-West except by passes known only to the Assiniboine, the trapper, and the adventurous miner seeking gold on the Pacific slope, through perils by flood and field and mountain fastnesses which might appal the stoutest heart, and obstacles which might baffle the most herculean strength.

Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, with that adventurous spirit which characterizes in a remarkable degree the nobly born, luxuriously nurtured and highly educated young men of England, were then among the few who had braved its perils. The eloquent history of their wanderings in the wilderness for nearly three months, of their final triumph over every danger, not the least of which was a famine that reduced them to skeletons, was

the only authentic picture of that unknown land which had been presented to the public.

The Treaty of Washington was brought to a successful termination, and I may say, in passing, that I have been informed by American gentlemen that the Canadian Commissioner who was denounced as virulently then for having sold his country as he is now for having sold the Charter, was in reality the only man upon the Commission of whom the American Commissioners were afraid. In consideration of the sacrifices—and I freely admit they were sacrifices, and great ones—made by Canada at the instance of the English Government in order to secure that peace upon her borders which seemed necessary in her interests for the development of her resources, and for the advancement of the far greater interests of the mother country, it was agreed that in aid of a railway to the Pacific the Home Government should guarantee a loan to be made by this country to the extent of \$30,000,000. Of course in addition to this a large subsidy had necessarily to be granted by the Dominion itself—but it would relieve us very much if the British Government would guarantee the \$30,000,000, for whereas we would pay 6 per cent. for money borrowed upon our own credit, and perhaps a considerable commission and discount upon our debentures—with the guarantee of England we could raise money at a far less rate, for the loan would be as good as the Consols of England, which bear but 3 per cent. interest, and sell at over 90 per cent. even in times of panic. Of course when this scheme was known it drew the attention not only of railway builders, great capitalists and projectors, both here and in the United States, but of that host of contractors and schemers that scent a job as vultures scent their prey, and who may always be seen hovering over and ready to pounce upon the spoil. (Our friend G. W. McMullen was there.)

A compact was formed between a certain great ship owner in Montreal, and certain parties in the United States, many of them connected with the Northern Pacific Railway. Now I particularly wish you to distinguish, gentlemen, between that private compact and secret bargain, the existence and purport of which was known only to the parties in question, and the Charter which was long subsequently granted, and which it was alleged was sold by Sir John A. Macdonald.

I am in no way his apologist. I am bound by no obligation to be so. I have been entirely disconnected with any transaction involving the Pacific Railway schemes, and I have no doubt Sir John can take care of himself as he has always done before. But the parties now in power have attempted, to the exclusion of all other issues, to force the Pacific scandal on this canvass, having asserted that I am a candidate of the Charter-sellers. I think I

can make a statement of it to you in which I shall endeavor to be as little tedious as possible, although I know that a certain version of it, produced on all occasions by the great organ of the Ministerial Party, has become "like a thrice told tale vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." (Applause.)

Sir Hugh Allan, the great ship owner referred to, came into communication with a man whose name I just mentioned, and who is now, through his connection with the scandal, unenviably notorious, and who, by the way, is just now so often in the company of the Premier that one might suppose he had fastened on him like a leech and could not be shaken off.

To the compact thus entered into, it does not appear that any person connected with the then government was a party, although Sir Francis Hincks gave an ordinary letter of introduction to McMullen for Sir Hugh Allan.

Parties to this Compact distributed the capital among themselves, and then agreed to seek from the Government a Charter conformable to their arrangements.

It was shown that Sir John A. Macdonald, and the late Sir George Cartier—the latter having special cognizance and charge of Pacific Railway matters—were irrecoverably hostile to any scheme involving the placing of the building of the Railway in the hands of foreigners.

About this time the Elections of 1872 were pending. Great efforts were put forth on both sides. The great battle field was to be Ontario, where the fight is always the fiercest, and where the whole power of the two rival Parties would be brought out.

It was possible that there was secret knowledge—I am not a politician, you know, and, therefore can say nothing about it personally; but I presume it was pretty well known to those actively engaged in the canvass, that a great deal of money was to be spent on both sides.

I say on both sides, because however much in regard to improper expenditure of money at Elections, either party may pretend to be a party of Purity; such a pretension cannot for a moment be allowed. It is the shallowest, and most absurd of all pretences. There is not a man before me that does not know this. (Great applause.) Well! as I said before, the Elections were pending, a great pressure was made upon Sir George Cartier by his Constituents, to get him to commit himself to a policy in regard to the Pacific Railway. Sir George, a true Canadian, never permitted himself to serve local interests for the sake of gaining local popularity; but patriotically devoted himself to the great interests of the Country at large. The great struggle was whether it should be so constructed as to send its principal trade to Toronto or to Montreal. These were the rival

prospective termini. And Sir George Cartier with characteristic vigorous determination, and with characteristic vigorous expression of his sentiments, refused to be dictated to, and consequently lost his election.

Prior to the Elections, I think Sir George and Sir Hugh Allan had interviews in regard to the Railway Charter; what transpired in those interviews, and what negotiation was made it is not my intention or purpose to enquire, *Nil mortius nisi bonum*. I had the honor of being an intimate personal friend of the departed Statesman, and his great reputation, which is the common heritage of us all, shall always be upheld by me; and now that his lips are sealed for ever, that he can not with that fiery eloquence of which he had so much command in the two great and universally spoken languages of the world, refute any aspersions that may be uttered against him! I trust that no man will be base enough to attempt to tarnish his fair fame.

Sir George Cartier, as I say, had interviews with Sir Hugh Allan, and up to this time I wish you to notice, and notice particularly, that no Charter was in existence; none had been granted. There was only a compact; a secret one mind you—between Sir Hugh Allan and his American friends.

And such was the nature of that compact, that I think it was coucealed from all except those immediately interested in it. No one had any inkling of it, except a little Cabal—a circle of which McMullen was the mouthpiece. Whatever secret arrangements there were during that period of the affair, I want it understood that the Charter now under discussion did not then exist. That point I wish to make, and I wish to impress it firmly in your minds. Charters were granted, one to the Inter-oceanic Company, of which Mr. Macpherson was the head, representing what I may call the Ontario interest; and the other the Canada Pacific, being under the ostensible control of the Quebec interest, under Sir Hugh Allan.

I mean to say that Charters had been granted to these Companies, but that *the* Charter under which Sir Hugh Allan subsequently acted had no existence. If I have inadvertently conveyed a different impression, I now wish to correct it, although that fact does not diminish the force of the argument.

An attempt was made to amalgamate these two Companies of Mr. Macpherson and Sir Hugh Allan—powerful men—representing interests which were in some respects rival and discordant ones.

Mr. Macpherson declined having anything to do with the Montreal Company, for he suspected, and had good reason to suspect that Sir Hugh Allan had made the secret Compact, which I have told you about, with parties in the United States; and he

as a true Canadian, and a sound, clear-headed, sagacious business man, refused to consent that the control of that great thoroughfare, carrying with it the settlement of a large part of our most valuable territory; should by any possibility fall into the hands of foreigners. Many persons thought that Mr. Macpherson was too unyielding; but he acted with a wise foresight, and subsequent events have shown that he was right in declining to have anything to do with the compromises that were proposed.

After it was found impossible to reconcile Sir Hugh Allan's Charter to Mr. Macpherson; or Mr. Macpherson's to Sir Hugh Allan, or to unite the two in any form, the Government resolved to grant a third Charter, which the Ministry themselves were compelled to do under Acts of Parliament, passed the preceeding Session. That third Charter, gentlemen, was not in existence until three, four, or five months after the Elections of the previous Summer. I want now to tell you that that Charter was *the Charter of which we hear so much*, and which it is alleged was the price of Sir Hugh Allan's contribution to the Election fund.

Sir Hugh Allan was the wealthiest man in Canada, and had the largest experience in the carrying trade, and the largest interest in sea-going vessels, probably in America.

No matter what his position was with these gentlemen, he was the proper man to put at the head of the Company.

There can be no doubt about that, gentlemen; everybody must acknowledge that to be the case. When a Board of Directors was formed, did it look very much as if a secret understanding existed between Sir Hugh Allan and Sir John A. Macdonald?

I have to tell you that the Board of Directors was independent of Sir Hugh Allan, or at least a large majority of them; that Sir Hugh Allan strenuously objected to having many of them put upon the Board, and yet the Government obliged him to accept them. Now I am going to prove what I am asserting to any fair man of average intelligence. There was Mr. Cumberland, who is the Managing Director of the Northern Railway, and as such his interests were entirely antagonistic to those of Sir Hugh Allan, who at that time had "Pacific Railway on the brain." He said to Mr. Cumberland in a lordly way, as I understand, "I am going to build the Pacific Railway," to which Mr. Cumberland replied, "and so am I." Mr. Walker, who was the Vice-President of the Company, represented an Ontario interest, and is now running for Parliament on the Pacific Scandal, in the Ministerial interest, and I hope he will not get in. Do you suppose that he was one of Sir Hugh Allan's creatures in that matter?—not much. (Loud applause.) Then there was Mr. Walter Shanly. I don't think he was Sir Hugh Allan's man,

and I think he was very reluctant to have his name on the Board. Mr. Sandford Fleming, who had been at the head of the survey of the route, a man who stands above suspicion of any collusion with anybody, one of the most eminent men in his profession on this continent or any other. Mr. McDiermaid of Manitoba, about whom I know very little. Mr. Donald A. Smith, who is the first officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, and whose interests I think, are antagonistic to those of Sir Hugh. My friend Mr. McInnes of Hamilton, than whom a more pure minded and more pure hearted person does not exist; he is a leading merchant and manufacturer; no imputation can be cast upon him, and the thorough and sterling independence and uprightness of his fine character, renders it unnecessary for me to say that he could be under the improper control of any person whatsoever. Now what remained for Sir Hugh Allan. *The empty honor of the Presidency of the Pacific Railway*, to which he would have been fully entitled after the failure to amalgamate with the Inter-oceanic Company. And after that failure what man in the Province will say that Sir Hugh Allan might not have received the presidency of that company without the least possibility of that fact leaving the slightest ground for the charge that there could have been any prior understanding between him and Sir John Macdonald.

I wish to make this point plain to you, and I wish to say to you that there was no man in Canada, apart from any charter-selling considerations, who if he had been disposed to take up the Pacific Railway scheme, the Inter-oceanic being out of the question, who would have been better entitled to become presiding officer of a Board of Directors than Sir Hugh Allan? Now, gentlemen, Sir Hugh Allan had the empty Presidency of the Pacific Railway Company. Nothing more! (great applause.) A very unsubstantial return for that vast sum of money which he is reputed to have expended! This charter, which it is asserted he *bought*, proved to be a mere empty honor, but it may have satisfied his ambition while it did not fill his pockets. If we are to believe the statements made in regard to it by him—and I beg to say that I do not presume to doubt his word—the presidency was all he received for his money; and if we are to believe that which is before our own eyes, his own sworn statements, and those of witnesses before a Commission, the thing which is not proven, and in fact the thing which is most absolutely disproven, is the sale of the Pacific Railway Charter. I enter protest against the Ministerial party using any part of the evidence before the Royal Commission unless they accept the whole. I protest against their taking *ex-parte* evidence in this case not subjected to cross-examination, extra-judicial and irresponsible, of men who are beyond the jurisdiction of our laws—of hired in-

formers, of paid spies—based upon testimony feloniously obtained (and you remember, gentlemen, the old proverb that “the receiver is as bad as the —” you can supply the word, and in this case I say worse). (Tremendous applause.)

And now comes the conclusion of this distorted story, this *bug-a-boo* which has been used to frighten and startle the public mind in Canada, I almost hesitate to say, to cover up and conceal offences far greater which may or may not come to light. When Alcibiades felt himself liable to be charged with great crimes, he seized his favorite dog in the market place and cut off his tail. The act of the great Athenian has often been imitated in these days, and the so-called Reformers are adepts at it. Bear with me for one moment.

I am now coming to the end and the climax of this bald and wretched humbug. The Charter that was put in the hands of Sir Hugh Allan, which it is alleged that he purchased; this man of thrift; this “Canny Scotchman,” this man who belonged to no party; this self-seeker; this Dugald Dalgettie who fought on any side where he could make the most money. This is his portrait, not painted by me, for I wish to extend every possible courtesy personally to the man whose iron will, rising superior to every obstacle, seeing wreck after wreck of the great steamers with which he hoped to open through the navigation of the St. Lawrence, a Trans-Atlantic trade, and through which also he has at last achieved a success unequalled on the continent,—this man I say, having obtained possession of this Charter, which he is said to have purchased, proceeded to England, to obtain through the provisions of the Charter the aid of the great capitalists of England to enable him to build the Pacific Railway.

Fancy Mr. Mackenzie, painting with that fine eloquence for which he is so justly celebrated, the magnificent advantages which a bribed, mercenary, and corrupt ministry, bound to Sir Hugh Allan, by ties which they dare not break, had surrendered to him the great franchise of one of the greatest undertakings in the world great subsidy endorsed, and guaranteed by the British Government! a subsidy almost unparalleled in the history of such undertakings! the stupenduous grant of 50,000,000 of acres of land in itself a territory larger than many of the Principalities of Europe put together; much of it pregnant with mineral wealth, much of it lying in those grassy plains, those natural pastures, that have never known the plough, the scythe, or the fertilizer, those unfenced wilds crying out for culture, which are sought year by year, by herds of Bison, many of them 100,000 strong, embodiments of what the South American “Gauchos” call in their *patois*—*carne con quero*” or beef in the hide, (enough to feed the starving populations of the world,) which are often slaughtered when their skins have no value, and when the carca-

ses are left to feed the coyote, and the vulture, merely for their tongues—those chartered libertines who never listened to the voice of the herdsman, charmed he never so wisely ; who know nothing of Christie, never fattened under the care of Cochrane, who would charge at Snell, and who would not hesitate with lowered front and fiery eyes to butt over Mr. Stone himself, notwithstanding the panoply that he wears as the official representative of the majesty of Agriculture under the great McKellar; (great laughter), who without persuasion from land agents, without prospectuses of emigration touts, ignorant of Horrocks Cocks and Creasy Whellams, guided by that keen natural instinct which baffles the researches of the naturalist; which is unerring and mysterious as fate, and which almost rises superior to reason, have sought these pastures for centuries so numberless that they almost contradict the Darwinian theory, with a mute eloquence superior to the late ingenious argument of Mr. Gladstone, and form our best certificate of the value of this domain to the stock-breeder or the grain grower, (cheers and laughter).

It is a little strange, but I am afraid it is true, that the sagacious, grizzly fronted old Bisons, who lead the herd, don't stay on the lands of Jay Cooke & Co. longer than is necessary.

Notwithstanding these liberal terms, what success had Sir Hugh Allan when he went to London with the Charter that he bought so dearly, according to the assertions of the Government party? How was he received by the Barings, the Glyn's, and other great powers of the money world of London, who have always been among the first to take up Canadian projects? With his great Charter in his hand, with his own reputation as one of the most astute business men of Canada, with that to back him, which is in itself a tower of strength, his immense personal *prestige* and triumphant success, his mission was a failure. The terms of the Charter by which the interests of the country were guarded were so stringent, that we do not know that there was even a 'nibble' at the great bait with which he 'bobbed' for the 'big fish' of Finance in London. No, gentlemen, he utterly failed, to accomplish anything under the Charter which it is asserted he bought at so great a price—even at the risk of repetition I must say so—and he came back to Canada, and surrendered that ENORMOUSLY valuable Charter (immense applause which lasted some minutes, after which Mr. Plumb proceeded.)

Now, gentlemen, it is certain that either one of these two suppositions must be true; either that no agreement existed between Sir Hugh Allan and Sir John A. Macdonald in respect to the moneys subscribed by the former to the elections, and consequently there was no *sale* of the Charter, or that Sir John A. Macdonald had the temerity and audacity in the face of such

an agreement to refuse to ratify it, and to disappoint the wealthy and powerful Sir Hugh Allan, who had, as one may say, "the hook in his gills," and consequently, we must suppose, could have exacted his own terms.

The *Globe* and the Party have constantly asserted that Sir Hugh was no party-man, but was a lover of money who would insist upon his pound of flesh to the very drachm, and can we suppose for a moment that when he had paid out so enormous a sum of money, for which we are told he was to have value, that if he had, as I said before, a "hook in the gills" of Sir John A. Macdonald he would not have "jerked" him just where he pleased. (cheers.) Everybody, I say, must know, that if he was the avaricious and sordid man he is painted by the *Globe*, he would have cut deeply and sharply for his fleshy forfeit. Why, of course, he would! It is absurd to talk otherwise; but since the Ministerial Party seems determined to force this Charter business upon us, I, for one, as I suppose it to be the theme on every hustings in Canada to-day, intend to meet the issue, although I claim that it is most unfairly put upon me, but I am willing to probe it to the bottom, and I am not sure that I have not already thrown some light upon it in my own feeble, humble way, although I dare say that it has been said and will be said that I am "a Yankee, and don't know anything about Canadian politics." (Laughter and great applause.)

Now we will go on towards the close of the Session of 1873. "About these days," (as Zadkiel's almanac says) the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington brought before the House of Commons resolutions accusing Sir John Macdonald of having sold this valuable Charter which has been under discussion, and charging him with having received from parties in the United States' interest, before referred to, large sums of money which had been used for corrupt purposes at the elections of 1872. Those resolutions of Mr. Huntington were brought forward without any comment from him, and his proposition to refer them to a committee was voted down by a majority of the House. A distinguished and elegant writer, master of his art, whom I may venture, with some apology to name—Prof. Goldwin Smith—although he chooses to remain under a transparent disguise as the impersonal author of a series of papers entitled "Current Events," which delight the readers of the *Canadian Monthly* in each issue of that magazine, asserts, (and with all deference to his judgment, I think he was wrong,) that Sir John A. Macdonald ought at once to have granted that committee.

It seems to me very certain that Sir John A. Macdonald had a stronger position by not granting it. However that may be, it was voted down by a large majority. A day or two afterwards Sir John brought forward himself a resolution for a com-

mittee. It was said that he was compelled to do so under pressure, and he appealed to everybody in the House to say if there had been any such pressure brought to bear upon him. There was no affirmative reply, and we are bound to assume that that assertion is not true; and on that committee, which consisted of five members of the House, was placed the leading mind of the opposing party, the brains, as one may say, of the whole Clear Grit army, the man who is the pride of the Chancery Bar of Canada, and whose talents we all delight to honor—the Hon. Edward Blake. (cheers.) The Hon. Mr. Dorion was also placed on that committee by Sir John A. Macdonald. He is the leader of the Rouge Party of the Province of Quebec, and I may say, parenthetically, that since he joined Mr. Mackenzie's Ministry, Mr. Mackenzie has not had anything to say by way of denouncing the Scott murder. (Great applause.)

The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron presided, and it is well to remember that a proposition to have the witnesses who should come before this Committee examined under oath, was met by the objection that it was contrary to the usage of the British Parliament, and a Bill of that kind would probably be disallowed by the Home Government. However, the House passed a Bill empowering this Committee to administer an oath under the usual penalties. That Committee appointed its meeting in Montreal, in the month of May I think. Continual assertions and insinuations were made that Sir John Macdonald was endeavouring to procure delay; that he was only shuffling and evading, and keeping off investigation. However, when the Committee met, or about the time of the meeting of the Committee, the Oaths Bill was disallowed. Word came back from England that the Committee could not sit and administer oaths, as was proposed by Parliament. There were insinuations then in the newspapers, that Sir John Macdonald had sent a confidential messenger to influence the Queen's Ministers and Queen's Advisers to disallow the Bill. Anybody who will believe that will believe anything. (Applause.) The Oath's Bill having been disallowed, the Committee broke up its Session, and on the very next day appeared the whole story of what is now called the Pacific Scandal. It came out in the leading newspaper of the then Opposition—an extra-judicial statement, that showed a desire to prejudice the public mind, a course similar to that for which, during the Tichborne trial, many public journals have been punished for contempt of court. What man accused of a crime has not a right to be considered innocent until he is proved guilty—except myself? (Long continued applause.) Yes, except myself. However, we are not going to talk about personal matters now. The next thing I wish to mention is that when Parliament adjourned, it was understood that it should meet on the 13th day of August, but not for the despatch of business. I intend to make a point of that, and I intend, if it is called in question, to prove it. Sir John Macdonald said, 'For the purpose of hearing the report

of this Committee, Parliament will stand adjourned until the 13th day of August, and will not then meet for the dispatch of business, and therefore it is not necessary for all the members to reassemble, and it is only necessary to have a quorum," or words to that effect. Mr. Mackenzie assented, and I think the only member who opposed it was Mr. Holton, who at that time, probably, spoke on his own account solely, and Parliament adjourned with the understanding that it should not meet on the 13th day of August for the dispatch of business. Not long afterwards, there was an agitation commenced to have Parliament meet, and try this case on the 13th of August. Most people remember how the Press began to agitate this question. Petitions were circulated, and I think there was one here in Niagara, and by a kind of special pleading people were brought to think that Parliament would be doing its duty if it met on the 13th of August to examine that case. I assert here, boldly, that it would not have been doing its duty if it had met that day for that purpose, and I assert, also, that it would be a frightful infringement of the privileges and the rights of the members who had absented themselves upon the understanding between Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie, and who could not be present to represent their constituencies on the floor of Parliament on that day. (Long applause.) Any single member, who by any accident, or by any previous arrangement, had been prevented from coming to Parliament at that time, would have had a right to make the most serious complaint, as his constituents would have been for the time practically disfranchised. It struck at the very root of liberty (applause), and Lord Dufferin, with that clear judgment, and that knowledge of Parliamentary law and of Constitutional principles which so eminently distinguishes him, said "Gentlemen, I intend to consider my Ministers innocent until they are proved guilty." (Applause) "I intend, under their advice, that Parliament shall *not* meet for the despatch of business." We know all about the stormy meeting of Parliament, and the denunciation of the Governor General, which almost amounted to treason. Lord Dufferin stood firm, I am glad to say, from first to last throughout this trying crisis, although he was ignorant, to a certain extent, of the force and rage and fury of party politics here; and his conduct from first to last has been endorsed by the British Government (applause). Here I want you to understand that delay again was charged against Sir John Macdonald. The Governor-General then said "I will appoint a commission under the Great Seal, who shall have power to administer oaths, and who shall examine into this scandal, and probe it." He appointed Judge Day, Judge Poulette, and Judge Gowan, gentlemen who, of course, were abused and slandered by the then Opposition Press. Well, that Commission met in Ottawa, and issued *subpoenas*, and what do you think? The men that brought the charges refused to come before the Commission, alleging that Parliamentary privileges had been usurped, that it was the right of Parliament alone to investigate the case, and that Mr. Huntington and his chief witness need not appear to give their

testimony. The consequence was that Sir Hugh Allan and Sir John Macdonald and some others were the only witnesses in the case examined before the Commission. Sir John did not, like Mr. Huntington, shelter himself behind the bulwark of Parliamentary privilege, and through his voluntary testimony it was ascertained that a large sum of money had been subscribed by Sir Hugh Allan, somewhat exaggerated as to the amount, by the Press, but no matter,—it is large enough, any way. We will call it whatever they like. Perhaps it might bear some little proportion to that \$750,000 that they say is coming here now to help my opponent and his friends (applause). But I am too much of a business man to believe that \$750,000 story. I think Sir Hugh Allan spent a great deal of money. I think when he had got into it, and had spent seventy, or eighty, or ninety thousand dollars, he made up his mind he would go on paying money until he accomplished what he desired, namely, the exhaustion of the Grit 'pile' and the 'call.' Sir John made a clean breast of it. He said, "I have taken part of this money, and spent it in the elections." I do not justify this. I, myself, am not bound to Sir John in any way, although it is said among my opponents that he wrote my Address, which is certainly a great compliment to me (applause and laughter).

Well, Parliament was called together, and the debate commenced. That was the beginning of the big fight—the beginning of the end. Mind you, up to this time the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington had not appeared. He claimed, as I have told you, that Parliament alone was competent to deal with the case. All his party claimed the same thing, so that until the case was investigated by them, the logical conclusion was that there was, in a Parliamentary sense, no investigation at all. Now, what have we next? As soon as Parliament met, instead of preparing to investigate the case, they brought in resolutions which, if passed, must compel the resignation of the Ministry. Those resolutions were discussed every day during the short and eventful session, and every night also until the final breaking up of Parliament. No proposition to investigate the Scandal Case was made. The debate, of course, in many cases was exhaustive, but what are such debates in which facts are colored and twisted in every way by the acrimony of party feeling, both sides taking the extremest opposite grounds? The probability is that the truth lies between them.

"Deserted at his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed,"

Sir John and his ministry resigned, without taking a vote on the debate. Mr. Mackenzie was sent for to form a new Government, and was so forgetful of principle, and so desperately wicked as to form a Coalition Government! Not that I have any particular prejudice against Coalitions myself, but you know that I am a Yankee "about as good," the *Globe* says, "as a barber," and I can't be expected to understand the nice morality and the unvarying consistency of the Party of Purity (applause). Now, excuse me a moment, and I'll tell you why I am not afraid of Coalitions. I well

remember, for I am a very attentive reader of the *Globe*, that there used to be a tremendous expenditure of type-setting and printer's-ink on awful denunciations of the Head of one of the most singularly economical and pure Governments that Canadian history records, that of the late John Sandfield Macdonald (applause). Day after day, scribblers that were not fit to be his *valets*—I don't say *barbers*, (applause) that is my private designation—denounced him.

And a Coalitionist he was, with M. C. Cameron, and E. B. Wood, and our respected member in his Ministry—himself a Reformer of the Reformers. He left behind him a well filled treasury,—now considerably depleted,—a sound policy, which his opponents, after denouncing it, had to take up themselves, and to an outsider like me, a caution not to believe in political cries, which has emboldened me to venture to speak of the Pacific Scandal without fear, favour or affection (applause and laughter). Now, bearing in mind the pious horror of Coalitions of all the followers of the *Globe*, bearing in mind the denunciation of Coalitions which we have often heard fulminated like an Ernulphus Curse against all who dared to think for themselves in such matters, when the Scandal Mongers found that they had a "show," as they say, for coming into the offices which they greedily coveted, when from the Pisgah of the Club, and the Russel House, and other choice Camping Grounds of the faithful and the faithless, they saw the Promised Land, and smelt the odours of the Government Trencher, they knew that no Government formed of their own party, 'pure and simple,' could stand for a moment, and what did they do? Did they say with Mr. Disraeli, all honor to him, that they were not ready, that they had no policy matured, that they could not accept office, and take the risk of falling into a minority, which might draw the country into the great excitement, cost, and bitterness of an Election. Not at all; any one of them would have been ready on the shortest notice to take command of the Channel Fleet or to write a Queen's Speech. Office, I gravely fear, was the end and aim and bound of all their hopes, and all their desires. Now, as an outsider, I don't think the country should have been put to this trouble for the sake of any thirsty horde of office seekers, and that it is comparatively of very little consequence to the country whether the "Party of Purity" is the "Simon Pure," or whether Sir John is as black as he is painted by those who fear him. Men in this world are so much alike, that I venture to say that it would be difficult to find the virtuous all on one side and the sinners on the other, until Dr. Cumming's prophecies are fulfilled.

Mr. Mackenzie and his friends without hesitation accepted office, and who do you suppose did they take into their counsels? Mr. Cartwright, a Tory of the bluest blood, personally hostile to Sir John Macdonald. They also deprived Ontario of the services of the Hon. Mr. Scott, who seems to be a sort of ready instrument for severing old ties and forming new ones,—a Patent Coalition maker (applause and laughter). When it became necessary to form a Coalition in Ontario, Mr. Scott was the man for the work,

and proved himself so far equal to the occasion that his aid was invoked at Ottawa (applause and laughter.)

If it were necessary for him now to go to the people for re-election he would not be happy. The election to the Local House took place in his district a day or two ago, and in that election Mr. O'Donohue was returned, and I think the Hon. Mr. Scott can see the "hand-writing on the wall," for there was a majority against the Government candidate in favor of Mr. O'Donohue of 600. (Loud applause.) In spite of Mr. Scott's great ability in forming coalitions, I think he will on this occasion, unless he gets berthed in the Senate, "fail to connect," as the phrase is.

Parliament as I say, was prorogued, but about that time an event occurred, a mysterious dispensation of Providence—the death of a venerable Senator, by which a vacancy was created in the Senate at Ottawa. I think, and my opponent will correct me if I am wrong, that it was understood at the time of forming the Dominion, when many of the members of the Upper Houses were deprived of seats in the new Senate, that vacancies occurring there should be filled by those gentlemen who were entitled to them by priority of appointment in the Upper Houses which were then dissolved. I think that rule has been followed out, except, perhaps, in the appointment of the Hon. Frank Smith, which Mr. Fraser here or Mr. Dorion there will not probably question; but on this occasion what was done? The appointment by rule of succession would have gone to the Hon. H. B. Bull of Wentworth, a gentleman against whom nothing can be said, whom I have the honour to know personally. That gentleman was not appointed; and who was? Why! to that calm and placid atmosphere of the Senate, that quiet place where, they say respectable elderly gentlemen (I beg pardon Doctor Carroll) doze during the day—but I don't mean that as anything offensive. I mean to say it is not the place of turmoil and bustle of action! of the heat of battle and the fierce contending strife! of the press of business, and the inauguration of new measures. It is a calm, quiet, placid chamber, rich with gold and damask, where men sit, not like the Senators of old Rome, but rather like the fabled Deities of Olympus, and look with serene contentment, not, perhaps unmingled with gentle pity, upon the noisy wranglers of the Lower House, and upon the busy world below them. And now, who takes the place of the dead Senator? Who dons the robe and grasps the ivory sceptre? Who with measured tread and lofty port and beaming smile, and heart overding with Christian charity and goodwill towards men, is welcomed by the Campbells and the Aikens, and the Macphersons, as he bows gracefully to the graceful Christie, and sits down at his right hand? Why—the Honourable George Brown! (Long-continued applause and laughter.) One may well stand amazed at the spirit of self-abnegation under which this gentleman foregoes the happiness of appearing before the People as a Candidate for their suffrages for election to the Commons. How is it possible that the Arch-Apostle of Reform (Oh, yes, we've had a specimen of

Reform in the present Ontario Government), retires from active service? Why is he not now before a constituency, single-handed, as I am? (A voice, "He can't find one.") I hear that remark, gentlemen, but far be such an insinuation from me! Why, he was the chosen Champion of his Party—the Power behind the Grit Throne whereon his trusty Henchman sits—rather uneasily, I should say—the power behind the Throne, greater than the Throne itself. He is the concealed Showman, whose hand is under the table moving the Puppets, and making them squeak as he likes. And I ask again why doesn't he go to the people for election? Even Sir John Macdonald is facing his constituents; but the new-born Senator I fear has no stomach for the fight. Now, about the time that the hon. gentleman I am referring to entered the Senate, there arose strange rumours—convenient hints from more convenient 'special correspondents,' slight innuendoes, straws which showed which way the wind was blowing, and which looked as if a storm was brewing—presage of a pretty quarrel between the discordant elements which formed the Ministry. Evidently there was trouble among them in regard to the question of dissolution of Parliament. We saw it ahead—

"Far off its coming shone;"

but we couldn't bring ourselves to believe those hints in regard to Ministers who had never been before the House after taking office, that had been seen of men only when they were clasping Mr. Huntington in fond embrace, and making mutual admiration speeches of each other in Montreal at a grand "ovation," (as the penny-a-liners call it,) where the Hon. John Young presided, and where the Premier and the rest of them talked talk of a family tea-party character, and where the Premier and his colleagues united in striking bands with the three men who were concerned in publishing a stolen letter. (Long-continued applause.) Why, gentlemen, I have no words to speak about that—I have no words by which to describe an act of that kind. I fancy that the gentlemen who were induced, in a moment of political excitement, so far to forget themselves as to violate the sanctity of private correspondence, are heartily ashamed of it; and I fancy the gentlemen of the Press who have attempted to gloss over, or to justify, or to apologise for what I can scarcely find expressions sufficiently strong to stigmatize—I fancy they, the party hacks and drudges, were disgusted with the dirty work they had to do. (Applause.) I am called the candidate of the charter-sellers. Now, suppose I turn upon those that have apologised for this almost unnameable thing, and many of them have endorsed and justified it with an audacity that appals me. In the *Globe* there was an article pleading that in this letter there was evidence of an intrigue of an immoral political arrangement going on between Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Pope in regard to filling a seat in Parliament—but I do not believe the other side will be more scrupulous when they get a chance—nor do I believe in the judgment of a partizan editor, a needy office-seeker, and two bitter opponents of the author of the letter and its proper recipient, when they claim they had a

right to become receivers of stolen property. A letter is intercepted, the contents of which must have been utterly unknown to the thief and his aids and abettors, and the foul act is justified on political considerations. They were probably hunting in Huntington's behalf for proofs—that's the way it's done. So it has been in my case. Gross charges were freely circulated against me, till one fine day when I really roused myself and threw down the gauntlet, those who intended to crush me, suddenly discovered it might be worth while to be prepared with proofs. Well, gentlemen, to get back to the omens presaging a dissolution of the House: they were slight at first, but the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, grew and grew until it overshadowed the land. People gazed at it with wonder. The member for Welland, that cheerful optimist, was secure in the opinion that he could not be wounded in the house of his friends, and sent to the right about, bleeding and to be bled, to show his gashes to the un pitying electors of Welland. On the other hand, Mr. *Dymond*, the "immediate jewel" of the party organ, prophetically offered himself as a candidate for North York, where he has my best wishes—for his defeat (applause). Well, we know now what it was all about. Parliament was dissolved. The writs for a new election were issued. The news appeared in the *Mail*, but the poor, innocent *Globe* didn't hear of it till the day afterwards. Can it be possible that a great public newspaper like the Government organ did not hasten to announce news of such great importance in advance of the *Mail*, as one may say? It is even so. There was no hint of it—no whisper of it. It appeared first in that reckless and terribly low paper the *Mail*—which the *Globe* haughtily ignored for the first few months of its existence—and next day the *Globe* heard of it! Immediately we are notified that the nomination day would be on the 22nd, and that the elections would take place on the 29th, simultaneously. Of course I do not charge the leaders of the party with having given secret notice, but my opponent was on the ground a day or two before the dissolution was publicly known, and my friends were urging action, but we did not move until we knew the Parliament was dissolved, and then we went to work, and we have worked with a will ever since. (Applause.)

The dissolution of Parliament dissolved the gentleman charged with Charter selling; Parliament claimed that it had the exclusive jurisdiction of the case—I mean the present Ministry—and the present Ministerial Party claimed it. It follows logically, if this is true that the case cannot be competently tried elsewhere. It follows if the last Parliament did not take up the case, as I think they were bound to do and try it—if the Ministry chucked it overboard, or reserved it only to be used as a political cry, as soon as they had secured office by means of it, that it is "a dead cock in the pit." (Applause.)

I have dealt with it but I refuse to recognize it as an issue. I repudiate it utterly, and will neither follow nor be led by it, but I thought that the sketch I have given would be the readiest way of showing that I don't understand Canadian politics—being a Yankee. (Applause.) But I tell you emphatically that I believe the conclu-

sion I have just stated is the logical conclusion, and I tell you also that if I am returned to Parliament and any one attempts to unearth this noxious, nauseous, malignant scandal by the repetition of which we disgrace ourselves and humiliate our country, I shall lift up my voice against it. I am not here as the advocate of Sir John Macdonald. He does not dream that I am laying the case before you here to-day, but I believe that he has been blackened and maligned by men who are afraid of him; that he has done good service to his country, and that he is perfectly well able to take care of himself; besides I am not inclined to join in the general howl that is going up to-day throughout the Dominion against him, and it is my disposition and always has been, instinctively, to take the part of "the under dog in the fight." (Great applause.) I say, gentlemen, "let the dead past bury its dead," and I say heartily, that we have been fooled long enough with this kind of thing—(Applause)—that we ought as men to put aside things of that kind; they are childish; they are boyish. Let us address ourselves like men to the business of the country. (Applause.) Let every man that comes before you and says that he is a blind candidate, a speaking-tube, a voting machine for any party leader, be politically *Anathema maranatha*. (Applause.) We are a young and struggling country and we must go forward—(Applause)—and I tell you for one that I don't care who was the original Reformer; I don't care anything about the antediluvian quarrels that were fought out prior to the establishment of the Dominion; I don't care to participate in the angry and bitter controversies of Sir John and Mr. Brown, or any of the partisans of either. I have never been in public life. I have never sought public position. I am placed where I now stand, not for my own sake, but because I felt bound by the great urgency of my too partial friends, backed by such a requisition as I shall always look at with pride, to come before you. (Applause.) Up to that time I never had opened my mouth before an assemblage of people in my life, except at a vestry meeting, when I was abused by a dirty newspaper correspondent therefor, but my tongue is loosened, and I imagine some people present will find that it is a tolerably bitter one before I have finished. (Applause.) Yes, gentlemen, I can bear a good deal, but when the time comes I tell you all that I am ready to take my own part. (Here, and at other times, attempts were made by his leading opponents to influence the Returning Officer to stop Mr. Plumb, but he declined to interfere. A person who had promised to support him, and is supposed to be one of the half dozen who has been led to expect that Mr. Currie has control of the minor Government offices here, and that he will get that of Post Master under the new regime, shouted violently "turn Plumb out," but no one joined him.) I was disappointed at not finding here some of my opponent's backers. I heard that Mr. McKellar was coming, and I was looking over some little matters in regard to him for the amusement of my friends here, who till the ground. He was about to purchase land for a model farm and although he got three or four practical farmers to examine it, he evidently had no confidence in them, for

he sent half a hat full of the soil to Mr. Mills, of Ann Arbor, a Professor of Agricultural Chemistry, or something of that sort, and asked him to analyze it; and actually the Treasury of the Ontario Government, the model of retrenchment and reform, paid a very considerable sum for the learned Professor's certificate, which said something or other about Tungstates and Silicon—(Applause) and other ingredients which may be very plain words, but I don't think I should use them if I were addressing an average crowd. (Applause and laughter.) I have a special memory for words, however, and it occurred to me, when I saw the means by which the Ontario Government was induced to purchase land, that I might turn an honest penny upon some land that I am so poor as to own on the St. Clair Flats, which is something like that plantation in the Sunny South which produced fifty bushels of frogs to the acre, and alligators enough to fence it. (Long continued applause and laughter.) I could have said that the soil was porous and not subject to drought, that valuable water privileges and plenty of them could be found there, available for dugouts and punts of the largest tonnage, that the *Typha Latifolia* and the *Hydro charis* and the *Fraginus Sambucifolia* made up its flora, that its Fauna were *Fiber Zibethicus* and *Rana Pipiens*, and non-professional people would be compelled to go to their dictionaries to find that I was talking of Cat-tails and Frog's-bit, and Swamp Ash in the vegetable line, and of Musk-rats and Bull-frogs as the live stock. (Long and continued applause.) I shall now speak of the politics of the future, and I begin by saying that in regard to them I cannot think the Ministry are fully in accord. They have not agreed upon a policy, if I can judge by the stray utterances that come to my observation now and then. The *Globe* dismissed us with five or six lines which sound like the mystical utterances of an oracle; here they are:—
 "So far as the supporters of the present Ministry are concerned, no new issue is at the present time. They were elected in 1872 to maintain the independence of Parliament and the purity of legislation. That is the testimony they are called upon to bear to-day. They are, therefore, entitled to every vote cast in their favour in 1872, and as many more as the flagrant iniquity of the men who then abused their powers may obtain for them." Now the same paper that contemptuously throws this bone—this dry bone—to us, published about the same time nine or ten columns of ex parte statements regarding the Pacific Scandal. This is intended to direct us from other matters, but don't be hoodwinked by it. It wouldn't do however not to have something in the way of a declaration, at least from the Premier, and now we have his address, but we are not at all sure that he speaks his individual sentiments or those of others associated with him in the Ministry also. I am against him on one of the leading points of policy shadowed forth in his address, that of breaking faith with British Columbia and with Manitoba, for it will be seen that he proposes to obtained a modification of the agreement under which they joined the Confederation, and to delay the building of the Pacific Railway until the line has been surveyed, and then "to build it as fast as the resources of the Country

will permit, without taxing too much the resources of the people." Now when we couple this with statements made elsewhere, that the Government intends to utilize parts of the Northern Pacific Railway—the railway of a desperate, bankrupt company—we must look at any scheme of delay in reference to our own road with distrust. If this bankrupt scheme is taken up by us I fear it will prove a source of greater evil and greater expense than to run a road at once over the north side of Lake Superior. I can tell you why. We shall be perfectly helpless in the power of the United States' Company when we are once committed to it, because they can put just such terms as they choose, and interests of various embarrassing kinds in it among our own people, and "Railway Rings" of a demoralizing character will spring out of it. They could stop us whenever they wanted to do so from crossing United States' territory. We would be in the same position that we were when we were not allowed to send a steamer through the Sault St. Marie Canal, only one mile in length, to carry supplies to Manitoba, then in a state of great political excitement and of open rebellion—and, gentlemen, I shall lift my voice in earnest protest against being hampered by any such arrangement, and I shall be sustained in that, by all others, except blind or corrupt party men, if I shall be able to show what are the secret terms of the arrangement and who are secretly profiting by it. I shall not now enter into that, but I think that the time will come when it will be very fully entered into, and when it is discovered how easy it is to make money out of such a transaction. And I intend to make it my business to look after such little games if I go to Ottawa, and particularly to watch for the tracks of Jay Cooke & Company, and their emissaries; for I think I know a good many dodges in that behalf that inexperienced people little dream of. I think I know something of the astuteness with which railway contractors throw the risk on confiding investors, and take the profit to themselves, and I can predict what we may expect if once a "Railway Ring" creeps into our lobbies, and insidiously sets its toils for the unsuspecting or the needy. Any movement contemplating unnecessary delay in our line, or the requiring of permanent relations with any line beyond our borders must be watched. (Applause.)

Mr. Mackenzie talks of making a definite survey and of establishing a definite line before he gives out contracts. The unfortunate destruction of the records of the survey by fire at Ottawa adds force to the opinion which I have formed from practical experience. Every engineer and public contractor knows that the survey must be strictly accurate in every particular, and that the contractor would have claims for damages if it was found in any instance that errors were made in the plans upon which he was led to base his estimates. Who believes for a moment that it would be possible for human engineering to lay out a line which should not be varied in running so great a distance as that contemplated by the Canada Pacific Railway? That there should not be a different kind of rock-cutting from that which was estimated,—that there should not be

filling and bridging which could not be properly estimated, quicksands that were not discovered; peat mosses, and bogs caused by beaver dams; difficulties arising out of drouth and out of flood, exceptional seasons, and many other contingencies—and if we lay out a line and the Government try to build upon that line, that man has not yet reached middle-age who, living to the end of a long life, will see the termination of the troubles that it will bring upon us.

The failure of the Allan charter, and the bad repute that has been given to the project by our own public men, have probably rendered it impossible to build the road by private contract; but I should say that we would be the gainers in the long run if we gave our fifty millions of acres of land, our thirty millions of dollars in money, and thirty millions more in addition, rather than risk the uncertainties which will follow an attempt of the Government to build a work so stupendous. Mr. Mackenzie is a man of great ability and power, but he never built a railway (applause); and he has been in Opposition so long that he will find it difficult now to bring forward affirmative measures. Even in his brief address, I think I see evidence that he still thinks as the leader of an Opposition, that—I must say from personal observation, meaning no discourtesy—often approached nearer the verge of faction than I thought creditable to those who led it. In the case of the Washington Treaty, for instance, I was amazed at the course pursued by the whole party, with one or two exceptions. He has often been likened to Hugh Miller, one of the greatest and rarest intellects of a nation of intellectual giants. Hugh Miller, a self-made man, struggling with circumstances almost more adverse to the developement of genius than Burns or Savage; working, till he had turned his thirty-second year, at hammering and cutting stone in rude bothies, surrounded by ruder men, yet, even then, producing poems that would rank with many many of the lesser poets of his own land of song, and then prose writings of a clearness so marvellous that they entitle him to the first rank in an age of brilliant essayists; and, lastly, a system of geological discovery, illuminated by his facile and flowing style, which is in itself an imperishable monument to his fame. He says in his autobiography that he was never a politician, but that instinctively he took the Whig side, and was greatly interested in the passage of the Reform Bill, but he adds significantly and frankly: "I always liked the Reformers better when they were out of power than when they were in." And so do I. And that is the "Testimony of the Rocks," gentlemen—and of a bold, rugged, Scotch Granite Rock, gentlemen! (Great cheering.) And I tell you another thing: that the Coalition by which we are governed is unsound; it cannot mix; the chemical elements are antagonistic. The Tory Finance Minister, the late Opposition Leader, the "Maritime Independents," the "Quebec Rouges," and Mr. Scott, who is the flux that is used to amalgamate the mass—and high over all, the great Master and Dictator, must soon find that there are stubborn wills and stubborn prejudices to conquer. To be in a "healthy minority" for a while, will not hurt the party that has so long swayed the country. But I fear that the

"promotion of harmony" and the "removal of sectional jealousies" isn't exactly the mission of the new Government. (Applause.) Why, gentlemen, living in that quiet which the *Globe* so kindly refers to in the short notice with which it honors me, and having, as it says, a capacity for silence—which you who hear me will think I have very suddenly lost—(applause), I have read a good deal and thought a good deal of public affairs, and my impressions are very strong that the "Reformers"—as they call themselves—and the "Antis" generally, have not done much during these last years to promote harmony among the jarring elements of Confederation; indeed they have not been very notably in harmony with each other. (Applause.)

I fail to see anything in Mr. Mackenzie's address which would warrant the people of Canada in expecting at the hands of his Ministry a liberal protection in pursuing any tariff policy. Mr. Mackenzie, I know, is an advocate of Free Trade. He and his followers are cast-iron men, who can not accommodate their views to the changing wants of such a country as this. They must go on in a certain direction, or else they are thrown off the track. We may claim some definite indication of what would be the policy of the Government on the question of a tariff. It is not a month ago since we heard that a manufacturing company in Hespeler was compelled to wind up its business, and sell off its products and machinery. Now I can tell you why this was the case. A great financial revulsion had gone through the northern part of the United States, and after crushing out the railway interests, it has fallen next with the greatest severity on the manufacturing interests. Hoyt, Sprague & Co., the greatest company in Rhode Island, were compelled by it to go into bankruptcy. Their indebtedness was enormous. Their stock was very large. Their factors in New York failed at the same time. Money could not be had. You could not sell anything. New York Central, perhaps the safest Railway stock in the United States, fell twenty or thirty per cent, and the banks in the northern part of the United States could scarcely pay an ordinary cheque for household expenses. Hoyt, Sprague & Co. failed, and Ives & Co. as well. They had a large amount of money, in their hands from Savings Banks (which people say I have also, and I will show them whether I have or not.) (Applause.) It became necessary that Hoyt, Sprague & Co. should turn their goods into money, no matter at what sacrifice. Other firms followed. A great depression in prices ensued. The largest business houses in New York, such as Stewart's and the Claffins' sold their goods at thirty and forty per cent. less than regular prices, for the purpose of meeting their engagements; and those that were weak went to the wall. One of the great houses, selling \$25,000,000 worth of goods in a year, immediately advertised their stock for sale at a loss of twenty or thirty per cent. But what was the consequence? Our duties could not prevent them from sending their merchandise here, and the fall in prices on the other side was too great to give us any encouragement to try competition. Mr. Mackenzie's address says nothing about protecting our Manufacto-

ries. At Hamilton, however, a few days ago, he attempted to make a Protection speech, and he did not appear well there. It is just as I have said before, he is accustomed to running in a groove, and when he gets out of that groove, he is gone. Protection I consider one of the most desirable things for this country. We are met with a duty of sixty per cent. at the frontier of the United States, and we reply to that by levying a duty of fifteen per cent. in return. I do not desire that protective duties should be excessive. I desire them to be no more than will be necessary to encourage our manufactures, without giving them an unhealthy stimulus; but I cannot see why the same article going from us should pay sixty per cent. for the privilege of exportation, while coming into our borders it pays only fifteen per cent. (Applause.) Sixty per cent. is almost, if not quite, prohibition—and was intended to be so. (Applause.) Free trade, in order to be sound philosophically, or true financially, should be reciprocal (applause), and until it is so we must have a *cordon* of custom houses, which will cost us no more than they do now if we help our own manufacturing trade a little while we are paying for them.

Now as to the Ballot, and an Income Franchise, I think the latter is right and just. I don't know exactly how it should be adjusted, but I am perfectly willing, so far as I am concerned, that it should be adjusted with great liberality towards those who, having no real property, have sufficient income to put them on a par with men owning land. I am not in favor of the Ballot, and I say it openly. I never was a politician in the United States in the sense of having anything to do with addressing the public, or taking a public part in public affairs. I never held any office there in my life, excepting, I believe, I was once a notary public; but I can tell you a great deal more about election dodges there than you would care to know, and you may rest assured that the ballot is not the greatest boon of freedom. Our system of voting is open and frank. A man comes forward and says like a man who he is going to vote for, and I am for that. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, I could tell you of such frauds in the ballot box in the United States as would frighten you. Such frauds as compelled the adoption of glass globes which were perfectly transparent, in order that the ballot box could not be stuffed and brought in before the election already packed, like a packed jury, by the men who had the manipulation of the ballot box in their hands. No human skill can guard the ballot box against fraud. It has been practised in New York, Baltimore, and Brooklyn; and in the South the returning officers take the ballot box and carry it home, and *always put in ballots enough afterwards to elect their own men.* I am against the ballot, gentlemen. We don't want the husks thrown to us by way of concession. We want living issues. We want something that will show us what to do with this great country. How we can fertilize the soil; what we can do best with it in order to produce the greatest happiness to the greatest number. (Applause.) That is what we want. We don't want a blind adherence to an old dis-

carded policy. These men who come before you and promise to support the Ministry without reservation—what are they? They are only promoting those quarrels which it were best to lay aside. What have we to do with them? What do we care? Of what interest is it to us whether one *man* or another is in power? I will go just as far in the direction of reform as any man in Canada. I don't call myself a "Reformer," because I think the men that mouth the word the most are least likely to practice what they preach. (Applause.) I don't pretend to be a member of the "Party of Purity," for I think corruptions foul, and rank, and high, and offences that smell to heaven are committed just as much by one party as by another. The Ministerial party know in their secret hearts that there is no more hollow cry in the world than the cry of "purity." It is "too thin!" (Great applause and laughter.) There is no such thing as a pure political party in the world, and no party has a right to arrogate to itself the claim to such a title. That won't do. (Applause) Try another dodge; it won't answer. (Applause.) I don't believe it. But, gentlemen, the Pharisee still prays at the corner of the street, and thanks God that he is not as other men; but he is just as great a hypocrite to day as he was eighteen hundred years ago. (Prolonged applause.) "The Party of Purity!" "the incorruptible!" "the virtuous Party!" Why! I should be ashamed if I had not a truer, a sounder, and more manly cry to go before the public with than that I belonged to the Party of Purity! (Great applause.) They say that on both sides there have been gross abuses; and I think that the election laws ought long since to have been put right. I am not an advocate of a particular party, and I have no hesitation in saying that corruptions have crept into our system; but I say if there was no bribery on one side there would not be on the other. Many men are bribed in the elections, and I know where money has been paid for votes by my opponents or his friends. I do not want that kind of support. They talk about my spending money. I have not spent any money, although I understand that my cheque has been shown as having purchased a voter. That is too absurd. How a man could have so misjudged another as to have supposed that I, having ordinary business prudence, would have given a cheque; would have actually given *cognovit* of my criminality, I can not imagine (applause). I believe I must have in this community the reputation of being a better business man than that. Heaven forbid that any man spend a shilling in my behalf, and he will not do it on my money if he does, because a man so base, so vile as to sell his vote will cheat the man that bought it, and the last man that comes whether the first purchaser or the last will get his vote, but I should say that the last buyer would have the best chance (applause). I am sorry I am detaining you, but I have got a great deal to say yet. Are you wearied? (Voices—No, no, no. Go on, &c.) At this point one of Mr. Currie's backers vainly tried to persuade the Returning Officer to stop Mr. Plumb.

Gentlemen, I believe there is a great future in store for this magnificent Dominion. I acknowledge that I am an American. I

acknowledge that I have taken out my naturalization papers within two years, which has been made a charge against me. I acknowledge that I was suspected of not being a voter, that I was challenged at the last election by order of my opponent, and he told me so himself. I had then resided here in Niagara nearly 12 years. I told him it would be a costly challenge to him, and I think it will be. (Applause). I don't expect to suit my adversaries, and I don't intend to try. (Applause.) I didn't intend to take the oath of allegiance until after mature deliberation—until I chose to do so in fact—and what have you got to say about it? I took it because the condition of things in the United States was such as made it uncertain as to the future there; because I was not in harmony with the great majority in that country. I hated the Republican party, and am proud to say so (applause). Probably my opponents will call me a "Yankee Tory," but they said I was not much of a *Plumb*, after all (laughter). A great many puns have been made on my name, and I have been in early life a transgressor in that line, and have, perhaps, not wholly abandoned the error of my ways, even now that I am old and grey-headed, and I will say that if I am a *Plumb*, I intend to show my opponent that I am a "*Magnum Bonum*." (Applause.)

Although we may become at some distant day an independent nation, I am not now in favour of independence. The period for that is hidden in the dark womb of the future, and until the fulness of time arrives, I am for a close adherence to the British Crown. (Applause.) I have no fellowship with open or secret Annexationists, and I have almost less fellowship with the Independents, because they are substantially Annexationists, and dare not come out openly and declare their sentiments. It is a secret leaning towards the great country upon our borders, and I am fond of bringing secret things to light, as I shall hope to do in some matters before I finish my address. I say, then, emphatically that I am in favour of adhering loyally to the Crown. We are not prepared for independence, even if we desire it, and I trust in God that the time may come when Great Britain and Canada, instead of being separated, may be drawn more closely together, and I trust that the time may come when a great and permanent Commission may be established in London, whereto may be appointed persons of influence, ability, and experience, well versed in our affairs, and at one with our interests, to look after those interests, and to adjudicate and advise upon such questions in regard to our affairs as belong to us in our connection with the Home Government. A department of that Commission might be a proper place of reference with regard to enterprises within the Dominion, seeking the aid of English capital, and it would be a salutary check upon bubble companies, such as have been floated there to our disgrace and discredit (applause).

Our ex-Governors, for instance, might very properly hold appointments on the Board, and there is now in London an eminent banker and financier, formerly residing and holding office in the country, who is an authority on Canadian affairs, and who might properly be placed upon it (applause).

I dare say our self-styled Reform friends, who never want to see money spent—except upon themselves—will object to it because it will cost something; and we cannot, I fear, expect any movement in that direction from them, unless they use it to strengthen themselves in their present very precarious and unstable position; and in their conduct, as instanced in the Toronto Government, by large wastes and small economies, I recognize the truth of the old saying—"Saving at the spigot and spending at the bung." (Great cheering.)

My dream of the Canada of the future is embodied in a few lines, (written for a different purpose,) that I will read to you, if I am not trespassing too much upon your time :—

"I saw a nation glorious and free,
Leading a darkened world to liberty,
First in the van, impetuous to strike
The festering chains from soul and limb alike.
Far o'er the rearward legions shining gleam,
Her star gemmed banners,—was it but a dream?"

"The teeming West spread forth her vast domain
Where she sat peerless in her gentle reign.
The sun uprising from his Atlantic bed,
On her broad brow his roseate honors shed
And smiled upon her when his latest beam
Warmed the Pacific,—was it but a dream?"

"Fair was she in her young exuberant health,
Ships, mines, and workshops deluged her with wealth,
New States, young Empires from the prolific stock
In vast accretions lock and interlock
By bonds of kin, faith, interest well we deem
Conjoined for ever,—was it but a dream?"

(Immense applause and long continued cheering.)

That, gentlemen, I trust, may not be a dream, but may be a prophetic vision of the Canada of the future; and if we are true to ourselves I feel that we shall achieve rank among the peoples of the world, which shall reflect honour upon the Great Nation to which we owe our allegiance. (Great applause.)

Mr. Plumb then proceeded to the third division of his address, speaking for nearly an hour, which was characterized throughout by the most stirring eloquence. He said that while crossing the Lake last summer, he met his opponent, Mr. Currie, who spoke about the probabilities of a vacancy in the representation of Niagara in the Commons, and said that he (Mr. Currie) should come forward in that case, and that he expected to be opposed by Mr. Plumb; that he Mr. Plumb would be the representative of the Party then in power, and that he Mr. Currie would be the candidate on the other side; that the canvass should be conducted on purely political issues, and not otherwise, as far as he was concerned.

Mr. Plumb then stated that he soon heard that the friends of Mr. Currie, and Mr. Currie himself, were circulating foul reports through the Riding against him in regard to his connection with the Bank of the Interior in Albany, and that it was partly with the intention of putting an end to such reports that he consented to come before the public as a candidate, knowing that it would bring matters to a crisis. Hearing that his opponents were preparing a violent attack upon him through the press, he proceeded to Albany on the Tuesday night following his acceptance of the nomination, arriving there next morning in the midst of a violent snow-storm, which continued throughout the day. He left Albany by the midnight train bringing with him letters from the Epis-

copaland Roman Catholic Bishops, Judge Parker, the Counsel of the Receiver of the Bank, Mr. Pruyn, Mr. Corning, Mr. Olcott, Mr. Van Antwerp, Mr. Williams, Mr. Learned and Mr. Tweddle; all the leading Bankers, the Mayor, and many of the leading citizens of the town; and had since received letters from the Bishop of New York, the Chief Justice of the State, the ex-Minister to Japan, (now resident of Albany) and a leading capitalist and banker there, and from Mr. Mead, who was the Receiver of the Bank, showing that he Mr. Plumb had always retained the highest social standing in the city of his former residence, and the unbroken confidence of the community; that his entire property in 1861 was handed over to the Bank, and through that means and the use of property belonging to his wife's estate, all the liabilities of the Bank had been long since paid in full, principal and interest, and every liability of his own had been satisfactorily settled and discharged. Most of these letters, except that of the Receiver, having been read at previous meetings were not brought forward, but having read the Receiver's letter, which was of a highly complimentary character, Mr. Plumb proceeded to say that in returning from Albany he met in the Pullman Carriage, one Kenneth Sutherland, a bosom friend and confidant of his opponent, of whom he had heard in Albany; that he had been applying to several of the gentlemen before named for information against him, Mr. Plumb, frankly stating that it was to be used in the Election. Sutherland looked surprised and guilty, and confessed that he had discovered nothing that was not greatly in Mr. Plumb's favor. The Currie Party had denied emphatically that Sutherland had gone to Albany at all, and when he came back those who were in the secret did not take their followers into their confidence, but allowed them to go on in full cry until the facts came out in a speech of Mr. Plumb at Queenston.

Mr. Plumb then turned to the guilty parties, many of whom were on the hustings, and denounced them in invectives which stirred the audience to the wildest pitch of excitement and enthusiasm, and wound up his speech by saying "Having now exposed this base and cowardly company on the part of the man who said in his brief address to you 'gentlemen, that he would use every *'honorable effort to win the seat,'*" and "having shown you his vile and unmanly attempt to go to Ottawa over the ruins of my personal character and honor, having challenged him and his abettors to produce the report of his company, or bring forward any charge that they can formulate against me, and having their confession that they are fully satisfied of the falsity of the reports which they have circulated, I think I am justified in saying that, *at least* those who have pledged their votes to Mr. Currie under the influence of the reports referred to, are absolved from such pledge and morally bound to vote for me."

Notwithstanding the dense crowd, and the presence of Mr. Currie's friends in large numbers from the Township (where alone he has any great strength) the most perfect order prevailed, and the audience sat without moving through an address which lasted nearly three hours. The leaders of the Currie Party, however—notably Mr. Robert Ball, several times approached the Returning Officer with requests that he would silence Mr. Plumb or adjourn the meeting, but he refused to interfere, and Mr. Plumb evidently had fully gained the ear of his hearers of both parties. He spoke without a moment's hesitation and the reporter had, at first, great difficulty in following him, but after the first half hour his report is nearly verbatim, as it is now published. No notes or memoranda of any kind were used. The meeting was nearly broken up, by his retirement from the Platform; after which Mr. Alexander Servos, Reeve of the Township, mover of Mr. Currie's nom-

ination, came forward and was heard to say that he was greatly pleased with Mr. Plumb's vindication of himself, and that no one could fail to be fully satisfied with it. He was followed by Mr. Currie himself, a pitiable object, who with trembling hand and quivering chin, murmured forth a few jerky and disconnected sentences. Mr. J. T. Kirby and Mr. Bell of Queenston made short speeches in favor of Mr. Plumb, and the most memorable meeting ever held in Niagara broke up about half-past four with cheers for the Queen, the Returning Officer and the candidates. The meeting was largely in favor of Mr. Plumb whose speeches at Queenston, St. Davids, Virgil and West's Corner's, during the canvass, have fairly moved the spirit of the friends of Union and Progress and caused many defections from the ranks in the strongholds of Gritism. His return is considered certain, and although there are certain rumors that the Party of Purity are backing up their *honorable* candidate with money, and although he openly boasts that he intends to spend it freely, and has promised every office in the Riding within the gift of the Dominion Government to half a dozen different persons, it is the intention and expectation of Mr. Plumb's friends that if there is any corruption it shall be on the side of the party of purity so well represented just now by Cook and Wilkes.



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